

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05  
IO-13 /090 W  
-----073369 102024Z /50

R 101918Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4169  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC  
JCS WASHDC  
USMISSION USNATO  
USNMR SHAPE  
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG  
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER  
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN GER  
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMCONSUL BARCELONA POUCH  
AMCONSUL BILBAO POUCH  
AMCONSUL SEVILLE POUCH  
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16THAF TORREJON SP POUCH  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MADRID 03803

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: MPOL, MARR, NATO, SP  
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO: SPANISH PRIORITIES

1. SUMMARY: THE GOS AND THE GOVERNING PARTY (UCD) MADE SEVERAL STATEMENTS IN MARCH WHICH PLACED THEM ON THE PUBLIC RECORD IN SPAIN MUCH MORE FORCEFULLY THAN IN THE PAST AS FAVORING SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN NATO. BEHIND THESE STATEMENTS LAY SOME FEELING, FAR FROM UNANIMOUS, THAT IT MIGHT PROVE USEFUL TO PRESS THE NATO QUESTION SOONER RATHER THAN LATER AFTER THE FALL CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM, BUT THERE IN FACT STILL IS NO TIMETABLE. WHAT MOTIVATED THE BURST OF VERY POSITIVE STATEMENTS ON NATO WAS UCD CONCERN OVER THE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS, INCLUDING OPPOSITION TO NATO, AND GOS CONCERN OVER THE OAU ACTION ON THE CANARIES. THUS THE STATEMENT ON NATO WAS A COMBINATION OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL TACTICS AND A TACTICAL RESPONSE TO THE OAU. HAVING SERVED THOSE PURPOSES, BOTH OREJA AND SUAREZ, IN SEPARATE APPEARANCES IN THE SENATE AND CONGRESS, RESPECTIVELY, ON APRIL 4 AND 5, MADE CLEAR THAT THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF PRESSING THE NATO ISSUE FURTHER UNTIL AFTER THE CONSTITUTION IS FIRMLY IN PLACE. WHAT HAPPENS THEN REMAINS TO BE SEEN. NOTHING HAS YET OCCURRED IN THIS POLITICAL JOCKEYING IN SPAIN WHICH WOULD INDICATE THE NEED FOR ANY CHANGE IN THE U.S. POSTURE. BUT THERE DOES REMAIN A QUESTION AS TO WHAT IMPACT A MENTION OF SPAIN, OR THE LACK OF IT, AT THE NATO SUMMIT WILL HAVE HERE. END SUMMARY.

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2. THE PUBLIC RECORD: AS RECENTLY AS FEBRUARY 16, PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ HAD TOLD THE PRESS THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP COULD NOT BE DECIDED SOON (MADRID 2071, DTG 271836Z FEB 78). THIS LINE WAS BEING ECHOED BY SPANISH OFFICIALS AT THE MARCH 9-10 BILATERAL HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON SPAIN AND NATO (MADRID 2902, DTG 161451Z MARCH 78), AT THE SAME TIME THAT FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA WAS MAKING A STRONGLY PRO-NATO INTERVENTION IN THE SPANISH SENATE WHICH WAS BOUND TO INTENSIFY POLITICAL DISCUSSION ON THE ISSUE (MADRID 2793, DTG 141733Z MARCH 78). THEN, ON MARCH 21, THE UCD'S INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY (RUPEREZ) WENT FURTHER THAN OREJA TO SUGGEST THAT THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON NATO MEMBERSHIP MIGHT BEGIN AS EARLY AS OCTOBER (MADRID 3172, DTG 230950Z MARCH 78). THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER ECHOES OF THESE TWO VERY POSITIVE STATEMENTS, ACCOMPANIED BY A FEW EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN FROM PSOE (SOCIALIST) FIGURES THAT THE GOS WAS BREAKING THE UNWRITTEN RULES OF THE GAME BY PRESSING THE ISSUE NOW. THEN OREJA (APRIL 4 IN THE SENATE) AND SUAREZ (APRIL 5 IN THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES) BOTH TOOK THE HEAT OUT OF THE ISSUE, SUAREZ BY IGNORING IT IN THE FOREIGN POLICY PORTION OF A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM, AND OREJA

BY BLAMING THE EFFECTIVE INITIATION OF A PUBLIC EXCHANGE ON THE SOCIALISTS. OREJA SAID THE GOS HAD NO INTENTION TO INITIATE A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON NATO AT THIS TIME; IT HAD MERELY PRESENTED, OR OUTLINED, THE ISSUE. THE SOCIALISTS HAVE STRONGLY REITERATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO NATO MEMBERSHIP, BUT AGAIN WITHOUT BURNING ALL BRIDGES, AND HAVE SUGGESTED (IN THE SENATE ON APRIL 4) THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DEBATE UNTIL AFTER MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. THERE MATTERS NOW STAND.

3. THE PRIVATE RECORD: IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION PUT

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R 101918Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4170  
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TO FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA BY THE AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 28  
AS TO WHETHER ANY TIMETABLE HAD BEEN FIXED FOR A "NATIONAL  
DEBATE" ON NATO, OREJA REPLIED SOMEWHAT VAGUELY THAT IT  
WOULD TAKE PLACE "AFTER THE SUMMER".

4. THE PRINCIPAL FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL SEIZED WITH  
THIS MATTER (DIRECTOR GENERAL DURAN) TOLD AN EMBASSY  
OFFICER THE SAME DAY THAT THERE IS STILL NO GOS TIMETABLE,  
THAT HE STILL EXPECTS THE DEBATE WILL NOT TAKE PLACE  
UNTIL AFTER THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM IN THE FALL,  
ALTHOUGH IT COULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND OF  
MUNICIPAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS; AND THAT ALL THAT  
HAS REALLY CHANGED IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE UCD HAVE  
SOUGHT TO GIVE GREATER DEFINITION TO THEIR POSTURE AT  
THIS TIME.

5. UCD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY RUPEREZ, FOR HIS PART,  
TOLD US ON MARCH 29 THAT HIS MENTION OF THE POSSIBLE  
OCTOBER DATE FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE WAS PREDICATED  
ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM  
WOULD OCCUR IN SEPTEMBER. HE WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF  
A TIMETABLE WHICH MIGHT PRODUCE A FORMAL GOS DECISION  
BEFORE THE END OF 1978 AND SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE TREATY  
BEFORE THE END OF 1979, WITH DETAILED NEGOTIATION OF THE  
SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO NATO (THE MILITARY CONTRIBUTION  
IN PARTICULAR) BEING LEFT UNTIL AFTER ACCESSION, AND  
POSSIBLY WITH SOME ADJUSTMENTS IN THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP  
AND COOPERATION OCCURRING SOMETIME DURING THIS PROCESS.  
ON THIS LAST POINT, HE SPOKE WITHOUT CERTAINTY. HOWEVER,  
RUPEREZ IS NOT ALONE IN BELIEVING THAT TO SELL NATO IN  
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SPAIN THE GOS MAY NEED TO DEMONSTRATE SOME ADDED  
"BENEFIT" (IN TERMS OF REDUCED PRESENCE AND/OR MORE MONEY)  
FOR SPAIN IN ITS BILATERAL BARGAIN WITH THE U.S. HE  
SUGGESTS THAT THIS MERITS DISCUSSION WITH WASHINGTON IN

THE MONTHS TO COME. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO SAID AS MUCH.

6. SOURCES WITHIN THE PSOE HAVE TAKEN THE LINE THAT AN EARLY PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIVISIVE. THEY HAVE ADMITTED THAT THE PSOE IS NOT READY WITH ITS OWN PROPOSALS ON DEFENSE, AND DOES NOT EXPECT TO BE UNTIL MUCH LATER THIS YEAR.

7. THE EXPLANATION: WHAT HAS BEEN AT PLAY IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS IS LESS THE MERITS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP (OR ITS RELATION TO THE ISSUES OF EC MEMBERSHIP AND GIBRALTAR) THAN A GOS/UCD EFFORT TO REGAIN FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE IN COMPETITION WITH THE PSOE, WHICH HAD STOLEN A MARCH ON THE GOS BOTH WITH RESPECT TO NATO POLICY AND N.AFRICAN POLICY. THE GOVERNMENT LOGICALLY DID NOT WANT THE PSOE TO GET TOO FAR OUT AHEAD IN FORMING PUBLIC OPINION ON NATO. THIS MOTIVE WOULD HAVE SUFFICED EVEN IF THERE WERE NO OTHER. ALSO AT PLAY MAY HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT BY THE SPANIARDS, AT THE TIME OF OREJA'S MARCH 9 SPEECH, TO SUGGEST TO THE OAU STATES THAT THEIR UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDE ON THE CANARIES MIGHT FORCE SPAIN TO STEP UP THE TIMETABLE OF ITS POSSIBLE ENTRY INTO NATO IN ORDER THAT THE CANARIES WOULD BE COVERED BY THE NATO MUTUAL SECURITY GUARANTEE. IN ANY EVENT, THIS QUICKLY GAVE WAY TO OTHER KINDS OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

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R 101918Z APR 78  
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8. FOR THE GOS, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NATO ISSUE AND THE ISSUES OF EC MEMBERSHIP AND GIBRALTAR SEEMS ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED, THAT IS, THAT PROGRESS ON BOTH IS VIEWED AS A PRECONDITION TO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP BUT NOT NECESSARILY TO THE HOLDING OF A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE IN SPAIN, ALTHOUGH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT WOULD CLEARLY PREFER FURTHER PROGRESS BEFORE THE LATTER OCCURS.

9. IN THE BACKGROUND MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN GREATER GOS CONFIDENCE IN ITS ABILITY TO DEPEND ON SUPPORT FOR A PRO-NATO POSTURE FROM THE UCD RANKS AND FROM THE SPANISH MILITARY LEADERSHIP. IN THE CASE OF THE UCD, THIS REMAINS TO BE TESTED FURTHER PERHAPS AT THE PARTY'S FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS LATER THIS SPRING. IN THE CASE OF THE MILITARY, WE TOO HAVE NOTICED A GRADUAL STEADY INCREASE OVER THE PAST YEAR OR YEAR AND A HALF OF ACCEPTANCE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP BY SENIOR MILITARY FIGURES AS THE BETTER PATH FOR SPAIN. BUT THIS ALSO HAS YET TO BE PUT TO THE TEST.

10. WHILE THERE IS NO GOS TIMETABLE YET, THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEBATE IN THE FALL HAS HAD SOME PEOPLE THINKING IN TERMS OF LIVING WITH A MORE NARROW MARGIN OF PARLIAMENTARY VICTORY THAN EARLIER GOS STATEMENTS HAD IMPLIED WAS A

PREREQUISITE ON SUCH AN IMPORTANT ISSUE, ALTHOUGH IT IS PROBABLY TRUE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD STILL MUCH PREFER A WIDE MARGIN. (AS MATTERS NOW STAND, THE GOVERNMENT COULD REASONABLY EXPECT TO GAIN THE REQUIRED SIMPLE MAJORITY IN THE CURRENT CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES AND THE 2/3 VOTE WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE NEEDED IN THE SENATE.)  
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MUCH WILL DEPEND WITH REGARD TO TIMETABLE ON WHAT THE GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL STANDING IS AFTER THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM AND THE SUBSEQUENT MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, AND ALSO ON HOW THE PSOE'S THINKING HAS EVOLVED MEANWHILE.

11. ALSO THERE HAS BEEN RAISED, AT LEAST IN THE MINDS OF OFFICIALS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, THE QUESTION OF WHAT IMPACT STATEMENTS, OR THE LACK OF THEM, EMANATING FROM THE NATO SUMMIT MIGHT HAVE IN SPAIN. BEING WEIGHED ARE A POSSIBLE UNWELCOME REKINDLING OF DEBATE DURING THE FINAL STAGE OF CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION IN PARLIAMENT, AGAINST A COUNTER TO PSOE SUGGESTIONS THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT ALL WELCOME SPAIN WITHOUT PSOE ACQUIESCENCE IN A SPANISH DECISION TO JOIN, WITH THE BALANCE FAVORING THE FORMER POSITION.

12. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THIS MOMENT, NO TREATMENT OF SPAIN AT THE SUMMIT APPEARS CALLED FOR, AND ITS ABSENCE CAN BE DEFENDED AS SIMPLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT'S OWN POSTURE. HOWEVER, WE MAY HEAR FURTHER FROM THE GOS ON THIS. STABLER

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**TAGS:** MPOL, MARR, SP, NATO, UCD  
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